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756 787 language. I asked him several times to dictate to me what his spirits were saying, and he would invariably reply that he did not remember, that he forgot everything after the seance was over, and that, besides, he did not understand the language of his spirits. At first I thought that he was deceiving me; but I had several opportunities of convincing myself that he really did not understand any Koryak. Evidently he had learned by heart Koryak incantations which he could pronounce only in a state of excitement.

To return to our Koryak shaman. I took from its sheath my sharp "Finnish" travelling-knife, that looked like a dagger, and gave it to him. The light in the tent was put out; but the dim light of the arctic spring night (it was in April), which penetrated the canvas of the tent, was sufficient to allow me to follow the movements of the shaman. He took the knife, beat the drum, and sang, telling the spirits that he was ready to carry out their wishes. After a little while he put away the drum, and, emitting a rattling sound from his throat, he thrust the knife into his breast up to the hilt. I noticed, however, that after having cut his jacket, he turned the knife downward. He drew out the knife with the same rattling in his throat, and resumed beating the drum. Then he turned to me, and said that the spirits had secured for me a safe journey over the Koryak land, and predicted that the Sun-Chief (Tiyk-e'yim) — i. e., the Czar — would reward me for my labors.

Contrary to my expectations, he returned the knife to me (I thought he would say that the knife with which he had cut himself must be left with him), and through the hole in his jacket he showed spots of blood on his body. Of course, these spots had been made before. However, this cannot be looked upon as mere deception. Things visible and imaginary are confounded to such an extent in primitive consciousness, that the shaman himself may have thought that there was, invisible to others, a real gash in his body, as had been demanded by the spirits. The common Koryak, however, are sure that the shaman actually cuts himself, and that the wound heals up immediately.

756 838 *Shamans that change their Sex.* — Among the Koryak, only traditions are preserved of shamans who change their sex in obedience to the commands of spirits. I do not know of a single case of this so-called "transformation" at the present time. Among the Chukchee, however, even now shamans called ırka"-la'ul may be found quite often. They are men clothed in woman's attire, who are believed to be transformed physically into women. The transformed shamans were believed to be the most powerful of all shamans. The conception of the change of sex arises from the idea, alluded to farther on, of the conformity between the nature of an object and its outer covering or garb. Among the Koryak they were called qava'u or qeve'u. In his chapter on the Koryak, Krasheninnikoff makes mention of the ke'yev, — i. e., men occupying the position of concubines,[1] — and he compares them with the Kamchadal

[1] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 222.

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koe'kčuč, as he calls them; i. e., men transformed into women. "Every koe'kčuč," says Krasheninnikoff, "is regarded as a magician and interpreter of dreams;"[1] but, judging from his confused description, it may be inferred that the most important feature of the institution of the koe'kčuč lay, not in their shamanistic power, but in their position with regard to the satisfaction of the unnatural inclinations of the Kamchadal. The koe'kčuč wore women's clothes, they did women's work, and were in the position of wives or concubines. They did not enjoy respect: they held a social position similar to that of woman. They could enter the house through the draught-channel, which corresponds to the opening in the roof of the porch of the Koryak underground house,[2] just like all the women; while men would consider it a humiliation to do so. The Koryak told me the same with reference to their qava'u. But, setting aside the question of the perversion of the sexual instinct connected with this so-called "change of sex," the interesting question remains, Why is a shaman believed to become more powerful when he is changed into a woman?[3]

The father of Yulta, a Koryak from the village of Kamenskoye, who died not long ago, and who had been a shaman, had worn woman's clothes for two years by order of the spirits; but, since he had been unable to attain complete transformation, he implored his spirits to permit him to assume man's clothes. His request was granted, but under the condition that he should put on women's clothes during shamanistic ceremonies.[4] As may be seen from Plate II, Fig. 1, the shaman wears woman's striped trousers.

It should be stated here that I did not learn of transformations of women shamans into men among the Koryak of to-day, which transformations are known among the Chukchee under the name qa'čikičheča ("a man like [woman]").[5] We find, however, accounts of such transformations in the tales; and the conception of the change of sex is the same in both cases.

Women shamans, and those transformed into women, are considered to be very powerful. I was told that a woman shaman on the Palpal Mountains

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[1] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 114.

[2] See p. 14, Footnote 4; and Steller, p. 212.

[3] It is interesting to note that traces of the change of a shaman's sex into that of a woman may be found among many Siberian tribes. During shamanistic exercises, Tungus and Yukaghir shamans put on, not a man's, but a woman's, apron, with tassels. In the absence of a shamanistic dress, or in cases of the so-called "small" shamanism, the Yakut shaman will put on a woman's jacket of foal-skins and a woman's white ermine fur cap. I myself was once present at a shamanistic ceremony of this kind in the Kolyma district. Shamans part their hair in the middle, and braid it like women, but wear it loose during the shamanistic performances. Some shamans have two iron circles representing breasts sewed to their aprons. The right side of a horse-skin is considered to be tabooed for women, and shamans are not permitted to lie on it. During the first three days after confinement, when Ayuï, the deity of fecundity, is supposed to be near the lying-in woman, access to the house where she is confined is forbidden to men, but not to shamans. Trostchansky (p. 123) thinks that among the Yakut, who have two categories of shamans, — the "white" ones representing creative forces, and the "black" ones representing destructive forces, — the latter have a tendency to become like women, for the reason that they derive their origin from women shamans.

[4] Among the Eskimo "the servant of the deity Sedna is represented by a man dressed in a woman's costume" (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 140).

[5] See Bogoras, Chukchee Materials, p. xvii.

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who was all covered with syphilitic ulcers, but whom I had no opportunity of seeing, did not die because she was supported by her guardian spirits. On the other hand, child-birth may result in a complete or temporary loss of shamanistic power. During the period of menstruation a woman is not permitted to touch a drum.

Eme'mqut's shamanistic power disappeared after the mythical Triton had bewitched him, and caused him to give birth to a boy. His power was restored to him after his sister had killed the Triton's sister, by which deed the act of giving birth was completely eliminated.[1] Tale 113 also tells of the transformation of men into women. Illa' dressed himself like a woman and went to his neighbors. When River-Man (Veye'mla^{a}n), the neighbor's son, recognized him, Illa', in revenge, filled him with the continual desire to become a woman.

In Tale 129 Kflu''s brother became pregnant with twins. When he was unable to give birth, his sister took out his entrails and put the entrails of a mouse in their place. After the children had been born, she replaced his entrails. Apparently the tranformation was not complete in this case.

Family Shamanism. *The Drum.* — In the chapter on guardians and charms I referred to the drum as a household guardian. In connection with professional shamanism I mentioned that the drum is closely connected with shamanistic performances, but not with the person of the shaman, as is the case among other Asiatic shamans. I shall point out here the part played by the drum in family shamanism.

The power of the drum lies in the sounds emitted by it. On the one hand, the rhythm and change of pitch produced by skilful beating with the stick evoke an emotional excitement in primitive man, thus placing the drum in the ranks of a musical instrument. On the other hand, the sound of the drum, just like the human voice or song, is in itself considered as something living, capable of influencing the invisible spirits. The stick is the tongue of the drum, the Yukaghir say. As seen from Tale 9, The-Master-on-High himself, in his creative activity, needs a drum. Big-Raven borrowed the drum from him, and gave it to men.

The following song, which was sung while beating the drum by a Reindeer Koryak woman of the Taigonos Peninsula, and which may be regarded as a prayer to the Creator (Tenanto'mwan), to whom it was addressed, characterizes the relation of the latter to the acquiring of the drum by man.

Text.

"Gı'ča ivi'hi^{e} 'ya'yai getei'kilın' nıme'leu mını'tvala qoya'u evi'yıkę ı'mıñ
"Thou said, 'drum make' well (we) shall live the reindeer not dying also

yava'letın kımi'ñu nıme'leu."
afterwards children well (let live)."

[1] See Tale 85.

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the present Chukchee irka"la'ul, Koryak "transformed men" contracted marriage with men, or, when there was another real wife, would be kept as concubines, and lived with the so-called husband in improper intimacy. This, of course, cannot be treated as a normal institution of marriage. Such cases were few in number. Bogoras states that among three thousand Kolyma Chukchee he registered five cases of men who were believed to be transformed into women; but of these, only two were "married" to other men.[1] I think abnormal sexual relations have developed under the influence of the ideas concerning shamanistic power, which the "metamorphosed" men obtain from the spirits at whose bidding and with whose help the change of sex is accomplished. These beliefs have found fertile soil in individuals of abnormal physical and psychical development. With the decadence of shamanism among the Koryak, and the Russianization of the Kamchadal, these practices have disappeared in both tribes.

POLYANDRY. — I had occasion to observe among the Reindeer Chukchee of the Kolyma tundra that they would exchange wives for the night, or that the wife would be placed at the disposal of the transient guest, while the husband would go off to his herd. Mr. Bogoras, who has studied this question more closely, considers this wife-exchange among the Chukchee as a form of group-marriage. The right of two men to each other's wife is stipulated by the mutual agreement of the husbands.[2] This marriage-union is contracted mainly among kinsmen (excepting brothers), such as cousins and second-cousins. A union like this may be contracted among unrelated men as well. Not infrequently this contract is entered into by a married man and a bachelor, who thus pledges his future wife to his friend. Each Chukchee may contract such a union with several persons, who are called "friends in wives." The result of such a union is a polygynic-polyandric group-marriage. The families participating in such a marriage-union retain, nevertheless, their own economic independence, and the children are considered as belonging to the head of the family in which they are born.

In Steller's[3] description of Kamchatka we find a passage in which it is stated that friends sometimes agree to exchange wives. It is to be regretted that Steller gives no detailed information concerning the character of such agreements.

Krasheninnikoff says that the Reindeer Koryak are jealous beyond measure, and may kill their wives on the mere suspicion of faithlessness.[4] On the other hand, he compares the Maritime Koryak with the Chukchee, and alleges that among them the host's wives and daughters are given over to

[1] See Bogoras, Brief Report, p. 31.
[2] For the same marriage-customs among the western Eskimo, see Nelson, p. 292.
[3] See Steller, p. 347.
[4] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 201.